

3. TRADE BETWEEN MAJAPAHIT AND WWANIN

This section aims to establish whether or not the Kingdom of Majapahit traded with Wwanin in New Guinea in the fourteenth century, and if possible, whether Javanese traders carried out that trade in Wwanin or in the islands west of New Guinea. If Wwanin was directly linked to Java by trade, that is, if Javanese traders visited Wwanin, there is the possibility that such trade links could have led to some form of administrative control over the area by the Kingdom of Majapahit. If, on the other hand, it can be shown that Javanese trade with Wwanin was conducted through intermediaries, that is to say, if Javanese traders obtained products from New Guinea from the islands west of Wwanin, there is the likelihood that Majapahit influence or authority over Wwanin would have been nominal and a reflection of Majapahit authority over an area which claimed Wwanin as its own tributary.

If the influence of Majapahit extended as far east as Wwanin in New Guinea, Majapahit must have been a capable maritime power. The nominal control of Wwanin - about 2500 kilometres east of Majapahit - presupposes the existence of seaworthy vessels in the northern ports of Java, although problems associated with sailing and navigating in the sheltered waters of the Indonesian archipelago should not be

over-emphasized.¹ Furthermore, the nominal control of Wwanin presupposes the control of the sea lines of communication between Java and New Guinea.

Disregarding Prapanca's claim that the Majapahit navy was 'numerous, glorious' (Nagarakrtagama 16-5-4), there would seem to be sufficient grounds for surmising that Java in the fourteenth century was capable of projecting its power over long distances.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, for example, Sultan Mansur Shah of Malacca, desirous of making the pilgrimage to Mecca, had 'very large junks, suitable for the long sea voyage, built in Pegu and Java, both lands being renowned for their excellent shipbuilding'.² At the beginning of the sixteenth century Javanese shipbuilding enjoyed a good reputation such that the Portuguese, D'Albuquerque, took 60 Javanese shipwrights from Malacca to Goa in 1512.³ In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Javanese had ships capable of transporting their produce over long distances and were acquainted with navigational aids⁴, and at the end of the sixteenth century Javanese exported rice to Malacca 'their trade being carried on by the Javanese themselves in fairly large junks of upwards of 200 tons burden'.⁵ There are also reports that Madagascar was conquered by the Javanese in the sixteenth century and that Java traded with the ports of East Africa.⁶ It would

seem reasonable to assume that such expertise in shipping could only develop over a long period of time, and moreover, there is evidence that Java was a capable maritime power before the arrival of the Europeans. Javanese missions reportedly visited China in the early centuries of the Christian era,⁷ and the Portuguese Tome Pires, on a visit to Java in 1513, had been informed that prior to about 1400:

Java navigated to many places and very far away -- for they affirm that it navigated to Aden and that its chief trade was in Bonuaquelim (East India), Bengal and Pase - that it had the whole of the trade at that time.⁸

Early sixteenth century Portuguese accounts of Java by Pires, Barbosa and Galvao tend to support the supposition that Java may have been capable of trading with New Guinea, and establishing authority over New Guinea, many years before their arrival.

There are several aspects of Pires' description of Sunda and Java that can help to shed some light on a consideration of Majapahit's power and influence some 150 years before Pires' visit. Firstly, in regard to Sunda, Pires wrote:

Calapa is where the trade is greatest and whither they all sail from Sumatra, and Palembang, Laue, Tamjompura, Malacca, Macassar, Java and Madura and many other places.⁹

(Bantam) trades with the Maldives islands and with the island of Sumatra on the Panchur side.¹⁰

The first matter of interest is the wide trade links of the relatively small and unpretentious kingdom of Sunda in 1513. From Calapa (Batavia, Jakarta) the Sundanese traded with Sumatra, Java, Madura, Kalimantan and Sulawesi, and sent ships of 150 tons to Malacca.¹¹ Bantam not only traded with the north-west coast of Sumatra near the present-day town of Sibogla, some 1300 kilometres away, but Bantamese traders fetched slaves from the Maldives Islands, 4000 kilometres away.¹² This may lend some credence to reports that Javanese traders visited Aden and Madagascar. Moreover, such trade links provide an indication of the potential of ports on the north coast of Java to project influence and power over long distances. Perhaps then, Tuban, the major sea-port of Majapahit 150 years previously, could have traded as far afield as New Guinea. Interestingly, Van Leur surmised that Majapahit expanded not so much through the energy of Gajah Mada, but rather by usurping the overseas areas which were controlled by the Javanese coastal towns and their nobility.¹³

Pires' account of Java reveals a continuing struggle between the Islamic sea ports on the northern coast and the Hindu kingdom located inland at Daya (Kediri). Demak, the major power on the northern coast, controlled

most of the coastal ports on the north. Tuban was the main port of 'Guste Pate', the King of Java's viceroy and chief captain. The spread of Islam east along the north coast had been checked at around Surabaya. Demak was 'constantly at war with Guste Pate and with the lord of Tuban' and had been weakened by this conflict.¹⁴ In 1513, Demak's power and prestige was dealt a severe blow in its ill-fated attempt to conquer Malacca: Pate Unus's fleet of '100 ships with 5,000 men' was routed by the Portuguese.¹⁵ Most of the shipping from the northern Javanese ports was lost, and Demak was forced to become a tributary of Malacca to save its trade.¹⁶ Ironically, Malacca had earlier been a vassal of the Javanese Hindu kingdom.¹⁷ Pires' account of Java is one of disunity, decline, and former grandeur.

Nevertheless, several aspects of Pires' description of Java can provide a clue to the extent of the former Kingdom of Majapahit at the zenith of its power. Java in the early sixteenth century still had 'infinite quantities of rice'¹⁸ and was 'thickly peopled in the interior'.¹⁹ Grise, according to Pires, had earlier been a great international port and had controlled trade with the Moluccas and Banda.²⁰ Demak had subjugated Palembang, Jambi and islands off the east coast of Sumatra, and Pate Unus from Japara (under Demak) had an army of 30,000 men in Java and 10,000 in Palembang.²¹ Unus had gathered an armada of 100 ships 'and the smallest of the hundred cannot

have been less than two hundred tons burden'.²² His flagship 'carried a thousand fighting men And it certainly was so monstrous that no man had even seen the like'.²³

We know from Tome Pires that Javanese traders visited Banda and the Moluccas in the early sixteenth century, and that trade was carried on between north-west New Guinea and Banda.²⁴ The location of New Guinea was believed by Pires to be 'about eighty leagues from Banda'.²⁵ That Banda is indeed about eighty leagues from New Guinea raises the interesting question: how did Pires know this? Antonio de Abreu commanded the first Portuguese fleet to visit the Moluccas. De Abreu's ship returned to Malacca in 1512 and, as Pires was then in Malacca, he would almost certainly have spoken with De Abreu.²⁶ But De Abreu voyaged no further east than Seram,²⁷ and Pires went no further east than Java. If De Abreu did not provide Pires with the approximate location of New Guinea, Pires would have needed to go no further afield than the traders of Malacca, because, as Pires notes, birds of paradise and parrots were brought to Malacca from New Guinea and its surrounding islands.²⁸ It would be difficult to accept that Javanese traders were unaware of New Guinea 150 years prior to the arrival of the Portuguese, if only through trade in such entrepôts like Banda.

Pires' description of the northern Javanese ports in 1513 does not address the issue of Majapahit's claim to

sovereignty over Wwanin in the fourteenth century. There are, however, several aspects of Pires' description of Java that can provide a basis for conjecture on the situation that may have pertained in Java in the mid-fourteenth century. There is the reference to Javanese control of a kingdom extending from Sumatra to the Moluccas prior to around 1400, and the reference that Java 'had the whole of the trade at that time'. This is Prapanca's Java. Such a reference, by itself, can be dismissed as hearsay, but considering that a weak, disunited Java could in 1512 dispatch a fleet of 100 ships and 5000 men to conquer Malacca, the potential of a strong, united Java to conquer overseas territories assumes more solid proportions.

Certainly, Java in the early sixteenth century is not the Java of Prapanca's Nagarakrtagama. Yet the signs of a former greatness are present in Pires' account: surplus wealth in the form of agricultural products; a large population; an ordered society; large standing or conscript armies; numerous seaworthy vessels; developed trade links; and a desire and readiness to expand by force of arms.

Another Portuguese, Duarte Barbosa, completed an account of his travels around the year 1518. Barbosa provides a first-hand account of Malacca and Sumatra, but was dependent on explorers and merchants for information about the other islands of the Indonesian archipelago.²⁹

Barbosa's account of Sunda and Java is sketchy and does not carry the authority of Tome Pires who had personally visited the northern ports of Java. Nevertheless, early in the sixteenth century there was a large Javanese community in Malacca, and a sizeable trade between Malacca and Java. Barbosa was apparently impressed by Java's shipping, wealth, and skilled work-force. The Javanese sent strongly-built, four-masted junks to Malacca,³⁰ as well as 'well-built light vessels propelled by oars'.³¹ Javanese traders brought agricultural produce, animals, weapons, dyes and gold to Malacca and returned with cloth, opium, rosewater, silk, saltpetre, iron and drugs.³² Barbosa noted that the Javanese were skilled firearm and weapon manufacturers, shipwrights, locksmiths and cabinet-makers.³³

Barbosa described Javanese and Malaccan trade with Timor and the Moluccas. In Timor, axes, hatchets, knives, swords, cloth, porcelain, beads, tin, quicksilver and lead were traded by the Javanese and Malays for sandalwood, honey, wax, slaves and pepper.³⁴ Moluccan cloves were traded for copper, quicksilver, vermillion, cloth, cumin, silver, porcelain, Chinese coins, and Javanese gongs.³⁵

Barbosa's description of the Javanese and of Javanese trade early in the sixteenth century indicates that the Javanese navigated and traded over long distances; the

Javanese built or purchased good ships; the Javanese produced agricultural and manufactured goods; and that Java produced skilled tradesmen. Such qualities are not easily acquired so it can be surmised, with some degree of certainty, that the same characteristics may have been found in Java many years before the arrival of the Portuguese.

A Portuguese account of life in the Moluccas in the 1530s, possibly written by Antonio Galvao, portrays a relatively strong Javanese influence amongst the nobility there:

(The Moluccans) say that they took (their royal) titles from the Javanese who made them Muslims and introduced coinage into their country, as well as the gong, the serunai, ivory, the kris dagger, and the law, and all the other good things they have. They boast of having descended from that race³⁶

It is interesting to note that some of the Moluccan nobility believed that they had descended from the Javanese. Perhaps Javanese traders had established a colony in the Moluccas which, over a long period of time, had become integrated into Moluccan society. Could such a colony date from the time of Majapahit? The survival of Moluccan place names incorporating the name of Tuban points to this possibility.³⁷ Interestingly enough, a clan on the island of Lembata, situated east of Flores and north of

Timor in the Solor Archipelago, is said to descend from Majapahit Javanese. Lembata is located on the traditional shipping route from Java to the spice islands, and its port, Kelikut, was once an important centre of trade.³⁸

The Moluccans earliest, but uncertain memories of trade according to this account, were with the Chinese, Malays and Javanese.³⁹ The Moluccan noblemen dressed in the Malay style and carried krisses.⁴⁰ Javanese gongs were a valued musical accompaniment at the court.⁴¹ Some of the customs among the nobility may well have been adopted from foreign traders, including the Javanese. One could cite, for example, the practice of 'when descending, all march before the king, and when ascending, after him, because nowhere must they be on a level higher than or equal with his'.⁴² Ceremonies which include betel nut and sunshades seem to have a Javanese tone about them.⁴³ In fact, one of the varieties of betel was referred to as 'the Javanese one'.⁴⁴ The practice of warning the people to withdraw from the roads at the approach of nobility was also found in Java.⁴⁵ There is certainly sufficient evidence to state that aspects of Javanese culture had been assimilated in the Moluccas via Javanese traders. Such acculturation rarely occurs in a short time frame and would surely pre-date their conversion to Islam around the mid-fifteenth century.⁴⁶ Important in this paper, however, is the fact that Java, at least through trade, was familiar with the Moluccas, and

because of the proximity of the Moluccas to New Guinea, must have been at least casually acquainted with New Guinea. The fact that the Javanese traded with the Moluccas, and exerted some cultural influence in that area over what must have been a long period of time, lends credence to the potential for Majapahit to have established some influence over parts of New Guinea either directly or through a proxy state.

Such conjecture is supported by Pigeaud. Pigeaud believed that Bubat, Majapahit's port on the Brantas river, was an international trading-place in the fourteenth century,⁴⁷ and that foreign traders visited Majapahit in considerable numbers.⁴⁸ Tuban, Surabaya and Gresik were then the important sea-ports on the north-west of Java.⁴⁹ Surplus rice, and the administrative ability of Majapahit to garner that surplus, gave the court of Majapahit 'paramount power in mercantile transactions'.⁵⁰

Pigeaud considered that most native Javanese trade in the fourteenth century was with the eastern spice islands which were unable to produce sufficient rice for their home consumption.⁵¹ In Java, Indian and Chinese traders obtained spices in exchange for textiles, cloth, earthenware, metals, and silk, and provisioned their ships with Javanese rice for the long return voyage.⁵²

The share of native Javanese trade seems to have consisted mainly in the collecting of spices in the

islands (the spices were bartered for Javanese rice) and the barter of spices and rice (for ships' provision) against Indian and Chinese wares brought by the foreign traders.⁵³

An important aspect raised by Pigeaud in regard to a consideration of Majapahit suzerainty over New Guinea is that the main emphasis of Javanese trade in the fourteenth century was with the eastern spice islands. The presence of Javanese traders in the Moluccas raises the possibility of direct trade links with Wwanin and a further, but less likely possibility that such trade may have led to the establishment of a Javanese trading colony in New Guinea, and later to the development of Javanese administrative control and authority in the area.

Schrieke, too, paints a vivid picture of Javanese trade links - those 'gossamer, golden threads' of a 'trifling, splendid, international' trade⁵⁴ - at the time of Majapahit. It is worth repeating because it provides an indication of the extent of Javanese trade links, and by inference, of Javanese political links, and as Schrieke intimates, lends credence to the territorial claims of Majapahit as stated in the Nagarakrtagama:

Aside from cotton and thread and Javanese fabrics, the export products were primarily rice, salt, and other food-stuffs with which Sunda and the pepper

ports on the east and west coasts of Sumatra were provided. These export products were traded for lacca from Pegu and, above all, pepper from Sunda, the Lampong region, Indrapura, Jambi, and Patani. The pepper not needed for home consumption then served for export to Bali, where it was exchanged for the Balinese cotton fabrics so much in demand in the Moluccas. With these, gold and silver jewelry, smaller coins, the silk and cotton brought to Java by the Chinese and the Indians, Chinese porcelain, and rice (also from Bima), the traders then purchased cloves and nutmeg on Banda and in the Moluccas, and for sandalwood and wax on Timor they traded the parangs and so forth from Billiton, Karimata, and Tobungku (on eastern Celebes) which were so much in demand From the Lesser Sunda Islands came the kasumba for red dye. The spices were in turn taken along with rice to Malacca or were bought up by the Chinese or the Indians - by the former in exchange for porcelain, silk, gold, silver, and above all copper coins by the latter in exchange for semi-precious stones, glass beads, cornelians, cotton or silk fabrics, and Coromandel batiks.⁵⁵

This extract provides an indication of Javanese trade and shipping in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These trade links extended to Indo-China and the Philippines.⁵⁶ Tuban was the main port of Majapahit, but

Grise and Japara were increasingly important after 1400.⁵⁷ The picture Schrieke paints of Javanese trade links with the east at the time of Majapahit is one of Javanese domination of an important market:

The expeditions of conquest against Madura, the extreme east of Java, and Bali consistently found in Javanese history were the result of similar factors: safe-guarding of the sea route to the Moluccas⁵⁸

The Javanese dominated shipping on Timor and the Moluccas⁵⁹

.... the Moluccas, where the Javanese had the spice trade pretty much in their hands⁶⁰

.... the Moluccas were dependent on Java for their supply of rice⁶¹

It would seem to be a logical extension to the general picture of trade links to the east to assume that shipping from Java must have been acquainted with parts of the New Guinea coastline, if for no other reason than New Guinea's proximity to the spice islands. However, Van Leur, Schrieke, and Chinese sources provide another reason which suggests more than a casual or indirect knowledge of the New Guinea coast - trade in slaves and massoi bark.

We know that the Javanese have traded for ages on the Molucca Islands and Banda They fetched Papuan

slaves there and scented bark called masoi and used as jamu (a medicine) - both of which commodities were imported from New Guinea.⁶²

.... as early as the tenth century appears the fact that Papua slaves were found on Java.⁶³

In the year 1381 they (Java) sent envoys (to China), who brought as tribute 300 black slaves and products of the country. The next year they brought again black slaves, men and women, to the number of 100, eight large pearls and 75,000 caties of pepper.⁶⁴

It is quite clear that Javanese traders visited the Moluccas, Seram, and Banda in the fourteenth century. It is also reasonably clear that the Javanese obtained products from New Guinea in the fourteenth century. The contentious issue is whether Javanese traders obtained products from New Guinea in Seram, or Banda, or in other small islands off the south-east coast of Seram that acted as entrepots for the neighbouring trade, or whether the Javanese traded on the western shoreline of the island of New Guinea. This is a matter of considerable importance in ascertaining the probable influence of Majapahit over Wwanin in the fourteenth century.

The potential for Javanese traders to have visited the shores of New Guinea is clearly present. Long-distance

trading voyages in the sheltered waters of the Indonesian archipelago were clearly undertaken by the Javanese. Such voyages took the form of 'island hopping' and utilised the well-known trade wind patterns. There would seem to be very little scope for error in sailing the additional 150 kilometres from Seram to New Guinea. Considering that Javanese traders visited nearby islands, and traded in products from New Guinea, it is reasonable to assume that the Javanese were at least aware of the existence of New Guinea. That Wwanin is listed in the Nagarakrtagama between the Moluccas and Seram is a further indication that its geographical location was well-known to Javanese sea-farers.⁶⁵

According to Van Fraassen, the people in the vicinity of East Seram were the only traders who traditionally visited Wwanin, and as sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth century do not mention Javanese trade with Wwanin, it seemed inconceivable to Van Fraassen that Javanese traders would have visited Wwanin in the fourteenth century. Van Fraassen considered that Javanese traders obtained massoi from Seram, and that Wwanin remained a land of 'hearsay' to those traders.⁶⁶ Although this may be substantially correct, it is difficult to understand how such a definitive conclusion could be drawn from the evidence presented by Van Fraassen. It could be expected, however, that the signs of a former trade or sovereignty

over Wwanin would be reflected in the early sixteenth century accounts of Javanese trade, if such trade or sovereignty once existed. Such evidence, however, appears to be lacking. For example, Pires' references to Javanese trade in the area indicates that Javanese traders obtained products from New Guinea at Banda, en route to the Moluccas.⁶⁷ No doubt spices from the Moluccas were of more importance to the Javanese than aromatic bark and slaves from New Guinea. Such a situation raises the possibility that Wwanin was a tributary of Seram or the Moluccas. This possibility will be discussed in the next section of this paper.

Perhaps the extent of Majapahit influence over Wwanin in the fourteenth century can be summarized in these words:

.... it is fairly clear that trade contract existed between Java and West Irian. It is possible that some trade suzerainty was exercised by Java over the New Guinea settlements, perhaps even indirectly through rulers of the Moluccas, who may have acknowledged Majapahit and claimed suzerainty themselves over coastal West Irian and the offshore islands.⁶⁸

NOTES

1. Voyaging on a Bugis prahu to the Aru Islands in 1856, the English naturalist, A.R. Wallace, noted a small vessel from Goram Island which was returning from Bali. (A.R. Wallace, The Malay Archipelago, Macmillan, London, 1874.) The Goram vessel had no compass and at night navigated by the swell of the sea: 'In these seas they are never (in fine weather) more than two days without seeing land. Of course adverse winds or currents sometimes carry them away, but they soon fall in with some island, and there are always some old sailors on board who know it, and thence take a new course' (p. 409). Wallace also noted that the Kai Islanders constructed excellent boats of 20-30 tons burden 'without a nail or particle of iron' which were capable of sailing from New Guinea to Singapore in perfect safety (p. 420). In 1857, Wallace returned from the Aru Islands to Makassar in the Bugis prahu of 70 tons burden and a crew of 30. The voyage of 1700 kilometres was completed in only 9½ days (p. 483).
2. M.A. Meilink-Roelofsz, op. cit., p.39.
3. Ibid., p.103. See also J.C. Van Leur, op. cit., p.262.
4. M.A. Meilink-Roelofsz, op. cit., p.105.
5. Ibid., p.286.
6. J.C. Van Leur, op. cit., p.151; M.A. Meilink-Roelofsz, op. cit., p.334 n.75. Schrieke, however, attributes this claim to the inadvertent landing of a Javanese ship 'laden with cloves (that) had been driven to Madagascar in a storm'. (B. Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies, Part 1, W. Van Hoeve, The Hague, 1955, pp.18-9.)
7. Ibid., p.334 n.75. See also G.J. Resink, op. cit., p.48. Not necessarily undertaken in Javanese vessels.
8. A. Cortesao (trans.), op. cit., p.174.
9. Ibid., p.172.
10. Ibid., p.170.
11. Ibid., p.167.
12. Ibid., p.169.

13. J.C. Van Leur, Indonesian Trade and Society, W. Van Hoeve, The Hague, 1955, p.403 n.30. The part played by Gajah Mada in whose lap rested 'all the burden of the whole world' (Nagarakrtagama 71-1-1) is deserving of further comment. Vlekke concluded that 'The mighty empire was the work of a few men, and after their death it collapsed.' (B.H.M. Vlekke, The Story of the Dutch East Indies, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1946, p.49.)
14. A. Cortesao (trans.), op. cit., p. 186.
15. Ibid., pp.151 n.3, 282.
16. Ibid., p.186.
17. Ibid., p.245.
18. Ibid., p.180.
19. Ibid., p.175.
20. Ibid., pp.192-4, 214.
21. Ibid., pp.185-6.
22. Ibid., p.188.
23. Ibid., p.152 n.3.
24. Ibid., pp.206, 208, 211, 214.
25. Ibid., p.222.
26. Ibid., p.lxii, lxxxiv.
27. According to R.H. Major's account, 'de Breu' did visit 'Papua or New Guinea'. See R.H. Major (ed.), Early Voyages to Terra Australis, The Hakluyt Society, First Series, No 25, 1859, Burt Franklin, New York, p.lx.
28. A. Cortesao (trans.), op. cit., pp.118, 209.
29. M.L. Dames, The Book of Duarte Barbosa, Vol 2, No 44, Hakluyt Society, London, 1944, p.xxiii.
30. Ibid., pp.173-4.
31. Ibid., p.193.
32. Ibid., p.174.
33. Ibid., p.193.

34. Ibid., p.196.
35. Ibid., p.202.
36. H. Jacobs, A Treatise on the Moluccas (c.1544), Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome, 1971, p.105.
37. M.A. Meilink-Roelofsz, op. cit., p.105.
38. R.H. Barnes, Kedang: A Study of the Collective Thought of an Eastern Indonesian People, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1974, p.11.
39. H.Jacobs, op. cit., p.79.
40. Ibid., pp.107-9.
41. Ibid., p.111.
42. Ibid., p.125.
43. Ibid., pp.151, 115.
44. Ibid., p.57.
45. Ibid., p.119, 149. Cf. A.Cortesao (trans.), op. cit., p.178.
46. H. Soebadio and C.A. du Marchie Sarvaas (eds.), Dynamics of Indonesian History, North-Holland Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 1978, p.146. See also A. Cortesao (trans.), op. cit., p.213.
47. T.G. Pigeaud, op. cit., Vol 4, p.501.
48. Ibid., p.502.
49. Ibid., p.501.
50. Ibid., p.503.
51. Ibid., p.503.
52. Ibid., p.502.
53. Ibid., p.503.
54. J.C. Van Leur, op. cit., pp.106, 111.
55. B. Schrieke, op. cit., Part 1, pp.21-2. Based on Portuguese literature and seventeenth century documents of the Dutch East India Company.
56. Ibid., p.22.

57. Ibid., pp.24-5.
58. Ibid., p.32.
59. Ibid., p.18.
60. Ibid., p.33.
61. Ibid., p.22.
62. Ibid., p.227. Schrieke gives no source for this information. In regard to massoi bark, Forrest wrote that its powder was 'much used by the Javans for rubbing their bodies'. (T. Forrest, A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas 1774-1776, Oxford University Press, 1969, p.37.)
63. J.C. Van Leur, op. cit., p.355 n.64.
64. W.P. Groeneveldt, op. cit., p.36. See also J.C. Van Leur, op. cit., pp.343 n.7, 192. Reference to Papuan slaves being sent to China can also be found in W.C. Klein (ed.), Nieuw Guinea, Vol 1, Staatsdrukkerij - En Uitgeverijbedriff, 'S-Gravenhage, 1953, p.45.
65. C.F. Van Fraassen, 'Galiyao, Muar En Wwanin', in Bijdragen Tot De Taal -, Land En Volkenkunde, Vol 132, M. Nijhoff, 'S-Gravenhage, 1976, p.297.
66. Ibid., pp.296-7.
67. A. Cortesao (trans.), op. cit., pp.205-9.
68. P. Ryan (ed.), Encyclopaedia of Papua and New Guinea, Vol 1, Melbourne University Press, 1972, p.247.